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ABSTRACT

This report contains information about home-school
collaboration. It discusses what happens as children move into adolescence, a
critical development period. (AMT)

**Challenges in Creating Effective Home-School Partnerships
in Adolescence: Promising Paths for Collaboration**

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Challenges in Creating Effective Home–School Partnerships in Adolescence: Promising Paths for Collaboration

Maurice J. Elias, Keli Bryan, Eva N. Patrikakou, and Roger P. Weissberg

In a thoughtful compendium, Christenson and Conoley (1992) compiled advice and information about home–school collaboration that are as relevant today as when it was published. Among the findings were some that are relevant to understanding what happens as children move into adolescence, a critical development period. Christenson, Rounds, and Franklin (1992) continued to document the long-standing observation that parents' involvement falls off dramatically when students enter secondary school; the decline actually seems to begin around fourth grade. As students move closer to coursework and to school-linked experiences that are relevant to their career paths, future educational plans, and health risk behaviors (such as smoking; substance use; dangerous driving; and poor eating, sleeping, and other lifestyle patterns), parents are less actively involved in influencing how schools address these issues. Of course, there are differences as a function of socioeconomic status, but the overall trends are as described.

Perhaps not surprisingly, parents are generally satisfied with the job schools are doing. They have positive attitudes toward public schools. They would like to have better, more frequent communication and more personalized, less business-oriented contact with teachers and other educators. But they seem to recognize that, especially in the middle and high schools, the numbers work against that. Overall, parents seem to trust that schools are doing a good job and that teachers know what they are doing. One reading of the data would be that lack of parent involvement is not necessarily a cause for concern.

Christenson and Conoley (1992) provided chapters that addressed numerous areas with which schools need to be concerned. These included interventions for infants, toddlers, and preschoolers; improvement of problem behaviors; facilitation of homework completion; overall school discipline; parent involvement in special education and participation in multidisciplinary

teams; divorce and bereavement; child sexual abuse; parents' relationships with school professionals; and the unique adaptations necessary as a function of culture, race, ethnicity, diverse family structures, and various socioeconomic levels. To these subjects could be added the implications for home-school partnerships of the past decade's focus on school violence and the complex sequelae of September 11, 2001.

In a concluding chapter, Epstein (1992) pointed out that studies of ways that parents and schools might work better together in these challenging areas, while helpful, are misleading. Programs and efforts may be directed at any one of them, but they occur in multiples in schools. The ecological context of many of the findings in the research literature—and even here the record of success is not impressive—often does not match the situations in which they will have to be applied. Epstein issued a call for reconceptualization of how schools are organized, especially with regard to school services, communications, contacts, and relationships with parents.

Her challenges have not been met in a widespread and comprehensive manner in the ensuing decade (Christenson & Sheridan, 2001). One reason for this may be that an underlying assumption of many efforts toward school-parent partnership is a focus on making the task of education more successful. As indicated earlier, this does not seem to be an overriding concern for most parents, especially at the secondary level. In a survey of 2,000 parents of elementary- and middle-school children living in low-socioeconomic-status neighborhoods, parents indicated they were most interested in workshops about how to help their children develop their special talents and less interested in workshops on helping their children take tests and on discipline (Dauber & Epstein, 1993). Under these circumstances, efforts at partnership may reflect surface-oriented, “first-order” change rather than genuine, lasting “second-order” change that restructures the roles and relationships of the individuals involved. While exceptions can always be noted and are easily highlighted in convention presentations, journal articles, books, and news stories, the

prevailing situation is not one of true school–parent partnership. This paper¹ attempts to examine what is necessary to create second-order change in the way in which schools and parents relate to one another, particularly in a sustained way as children reach the teen years. It is focused on the common interests of both partners and the further need for these partners to be coconspirators against societal forces that undermine their individual and collective efforts.

Finding a Positive, Constructive Identity: The Foremost Task of Adolescence

Challenges That Teenagers Face

Virtually every teenager is looking for answers to questions like these:

- How can I understand who I am now and who I will be in the future?
- How can I nurture and build positive relationships?
- How can I develop skills to handle everyday challenges, problems, decisions, and choices?
- How can I develop to be a moral, ethical, active, committed human being?
- How can I develop a positive, constructive identity?

The development of an identity is the product of teens' ongoing interactions within the social-ecological environment, as well the history of those interactions. Belsky (1984), adopting Bronfenbrenner's basic model (1979) of the ecology of development, recognizes that the parental role, though important, is nested within an array of influences shaping who teenagers will become and what identities they will adopt seriously.

A Social-Ecological and Development View of Identity

In a social-ecological model, individuals' identities are viewed as developing and adapting at the center of numerous surrounding interactive, dynamic environments (e.g., Belsky, 1984; Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Parents and other caregivers, as well as educators, medical

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personnel, and others whose responsibilities include navigating children through the socialization process, transact with these environments as total persons. Their biological attributes, knowledge and attitudes in all domains, personal identity and history, socioemotional skills, and physical characteristics are all involved at all times. These environments can be conceptualized at several ecological levels. Arenas for small-group and face-to-face interactions, such as families, peer groups, classrooms, and work groups, can be called *microsystems*. These are housed within larger units that can be labeled as *organizations*. Specific examples of microsystems include small civic groups, informal networks of friends, bowling teams, quilting groups, and small family-run businesses. Organizations include schools, businesses, youth groups, religious congregations, tenant associations, neighborhood or town libraries, colleges, chamber of commerce chapters, farmers' cooperatives, neighborhood crimewatch organizations, and political clubs. Organizations are nested within *neighborhoods and communities*.

The most encompassing ecological level can be conceptualized as *macrosystems*, such as beliefs about children and child rearing, social policies like flexible work scheduling and paternity leave that have general influence on parenting, the legal system, the media, the economic ethos of the Fortune 500 companies, and the taxation systems for funding public schools. Macrosystems influence the functioning of neighborhoods and communities and the organizations they subsume, which in turn affect the day-to-day functioning of microsystems and the individuals interacting within them. For example, macroeconomic trends create financial pressures on corporations, which cut costs by downsizing, laying off workers, and increasing overtime for those who remain. This, in turn, reduces the time and energy of parents for their families and for volunteer organizations related to school, civic, recreational, and religious life.

Developmental considerations are also important in shaping identity. The developing child is assumed to bring into his or her interactions not only personal characteristics but also the shadow of the ontogenic history of parental figures as expressed in their interaction with and in front of that child. These tend to occur in microsystems. Thus, there is a historic and

developmental aspect to all ecological transactions. What is most fascinating to contemplate is that in a given microsystem—such as a back-to-school night in a high school—everyone is part of an unseen but extensive network of ecological relationships, various of which are more or less actively present and salient at the moment. The outcome of a first contact like a back-to-school night depends a great deal on the congruence of all of the varying ecological forces in play at the time. Unfortunately, parents often find the ecology of high schools overwhelming, threatening, hard to grasp, or aversive because of their own experiences in high school. From a developmental perspective, by the time parents have children of high-school age, (a) their own career pressures are often mounting, (b) they have other children demanding more attention, and (c) the time and energy required to make an investment in learning about and becoming involved in the complex ecology of the high school may be overwhelming.

Efforts that look at home–school partnerships too narrowly and out of a social-ecological and developmental context are likely to be misdirected in their approach and limited in their accomplishments. It is necessary is to reconceptualize home–school partnerships to focus on common ground. From an ecological point of view, home and school are indeed in partnership, to help children develop constructive identities that will prepare them for their roles as family members, students, members of peer groups, members of workplaces, involved community residents, and citizens of our democracy. But this partnership is complex and multiply determined.

Common Ground for Partnerships: Knowledgeable, Responsible, Nonviolent, Drug-Free, and Caring Youth

Parents and schools share common ground in wanting students to grow up to be knowledgeable, responsible, nonviolent, drug-free, and caring. These aspects of identity are of great interest to both educational and parenting groups. The social ecology of academic success for students, especially at the secondary-school level, makes it clear that lack of coordination of home and school inputs can bring problems for teenagers. Unfortunately, discussions about

parent-school partnerships and, more significantly, observations of what takes place in schools suggest that there is not a true sense of what is meant by partnership when schools and parents work together (Swap, 1992). How much and what kinds of coordination of attitudes and actions are needed? Fundraising via bake sales, plant sales, and raffles often occurs for trips by classes, entire grade levels, or school teams and clubs. Parents are also urged to read with their children, help organize a homework and study environment, and create a serious tone for learning. At another level, schools with site-based decision making include parents in many key roles and provide them with places “at the table.” But in actuality, results do not approach the promise.

Ways of becoming involved are especially unclear at the secondary level. Those parents who are deeply involved are not a cross section of families in the community, and the issues to be decided are often technical and complex. Even those matters that might seem more in the parents’ purview, like curriculum or choice of textbooks, are deceptive in their complexity and in their linkage to other locally based decisions in other schools in the same district. Thus, it is not surprising that studies of decision-making processes in schools with site-based management tend to find that the principal continues to lead discussions and be the largest force in shaping their outcomes and that the involvement of parents is often cosmetic and political, rather than substantive (Bachrach, 1990; ERIC Clearinghouse on Urban Education, 1986).

Exceptions seem to be accompanied by a broader conceptualization of the partnership, that is, that the partnership is to foster the building of the adolescent’s healthy identity. It is not partnership for the sake of carrying out the core mission of only one of the partners. Indeed, in a well-functioning partnership, there is usually role differentiation. There are complementarity and overlap. Common work on common goals takes place, but much happens in the separate spheres of the partners.

The importance of partnership is amplified in contexts of disadvantage. Bradley, Corwyn, Burchinal, McAdoo, and Coll (2001) undertook an important study of the contributions of children’s home environments to various aspects of their behavioral development. Using five

samples from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth over 10 years, they found that conditions varied quite a bit as a function of ethnicity and poverty but that what mattered to children did not show the same degree of variability. What mattered most for children's language, academic achievement, and social development, including prevention of problem behaviors, was the extent to which learning was stimulated in the home. Another important factor was maternal teaching. As the authors noted, "the amount that mothers teach their children reflects their own educational level" (p. 1880). There are many other findings in this comprehensive study, and the authors clearly note that "parental influence is not simple and straightforward. Rather, it appears to be highly complex and differentiated" (p. 1882). They also comment that children's experiences across multiple ecologies must be understood in dynamic interaction. Their sophisticated work belies simple notions of school-parent partnership. But more to the point, their work makes clear that in the absence of influence from schools or communities, many children, especially those living in poverty, will be understimulated by their home environments and will find their achievements and life accomplishments attenuated in ways that no number of bake sales or ski trips is likely to make up.

A look at some studies that seek to find new common ground between schools and parents by establishing new relationships and role definitions shows how partnerships can be developed at a variety of social-ecological levels and developmental periods. Note that the trajectories of many adolescent difficulties begins in the earlier years; hence, the examples below draw from information that includes both the teen and younger years.

Social-Ecological Arenas for Partnership

Adult support. Brassard, Hyman, and Dimmitt (1991) report that Articles 30 and 31 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child state that children's mental health and optimal life adaptation are linked to a sense of belonging to a family and to parental love. Other articles in the U.N. Convention outline additional areas in which parents and schools share

interests: ensuring special care for children whose parents are ill, incapacitated, ineffective, or harmful; providing recreational opportunities and time and space for play; and providing children with equal educational opportunities regardless of the community in which they are born, raised, and live.

Partnership implications. This study reflects consistent evidence that resilience is fostered by children's having a strong, caring relationship with a least one reliable, supportive adult. Brassard et al. (1991) look to school psychologists in particular, and to schools more generally, to ensure that this basic human right is afforded to children. This is reflected in the later discussion of the concept of social linkages, which recognizes that parents' roles and responsibilities are sometimes best thought of in terms of what they need to see take place for their children in the broader community, not necessarily in terms of what they themselves do. Similarly, children cannot learn effectively in contexts in which parents have difficulty, there are inadequate outlets for physical release and creativity, teachers are not of high quality, and children do not feel safe (Comer, in press). These are matters of basic developmental rights, and educators and parents have common ground in advocating them.

Academic enablers. Mroch, Lang, Elliott, and DiPerna (2002) examine the presence of what they refer to as behaviors that enable academic achievement in samples of general-education, learning-disabled, and nonhandicapped "at-risk" populations. Factors such as interpersonal skills, motivation, and study habits all are nonschool factors that differentiate general-education students from the other groups and are arenas in which parents and schools can work together more closely than is currently the case. While the sample represents 80 districts across 30 states, no breakdown as a function of socioeconomic status is reported. However, such status is clearly linked to motivation, study environment, resources, and context, and skills such as nonviolent conflict resolution.

Partnership implications. Schools and parents have a shared interest in building the skills that will enable better academic performance. These are becoming increasingly identified

under the rubric of social-emotional learning skills (Elias et al., 1997). Research has shown how they play an important role in both teacher satisfaction and avoidance of attrition and burnout and how they both influence the social ecology of the classroom and direct learning processes (Zins, Weissberg, Wang, & Walberg, 2002). As will be noted later, communities also have great interest in these skills, as they form the backbone of effective community service, civic participation, and workplace functioning (Cherniss & Goleman, 2001; Elias et al., 1997).

Parent-school interactions. Minke and Anderson (2002; see also Minke, 2000), looking for new vehicles for improved home-school collaboration, examined traditional parent-teacher conferences. They found a procedure fraught with stress and with inequity, as teachers dominated, parents were passive, and children were absent. They attempted to redesign these encounters using perspectives derived from home-school collaboration around common goals. They labeled these goals as “CORE”—connection, optimism, respect, and empowerment. The conference was restructured to begin with written preparation by all participants—teachers, parents, and students list strengths, areas needing improvement, other goals, and questions. At the meeting, the child introduces all participants to one another and then begins the discussion of strengths, moving into other areas. As a group, decisions are made about what to prioritize for further work, plans are made, follow-up time is set, and then an evaluation process is outlined so that all parties will know the extent to which progress is made. Pilot testing with 283 parents of children in Grades K–4 has indicated that the new conference structure is much less stressful than the old one, increases participants’ learning, and opens up collaborative possibilities. Teachers have found that their perceptions of parents tend to be more positive than previously, which fosters more outreach and communication. The authors note that some parents prefer the traditional, teacher-directed conference format, most often because they are not comfortable having their children present.

Izzo, Weissberg, Kasprow, and Fendrich (1999) have studied parent involvement in children’s education among 1,205 urban children in Grades K–3 over a 3-year period. They

define involvement as frequency of parent–teacher contact, quality of parent–teacher interaction, parent participation in school activities, and parent participation in educational activities at home. Their findings are representative of complex trends in the literature and of idiosyncratic factors that are likely to operate in particular localities. Parent involvement declined significantly over the 3 years. At the start, however, teachers appeared satisfied with the level of contact they had, twice per year for almost 80% of the families and five times per year for nearly 50%. Of course, the relationship of contact to problem behaviors suggests that contact can sometimes be an indicator of difficulty, and this kind of contact may well reduce further positive contacts in subsequent years. Perhaps most relevant is that the most robust predictor of child academic and behavioral outcomes in this analysis is parental participation in educational activities at home. Still, about one third of the sample was excluded here because their home participation was not known.

Partnership implications. These findings challenge conventional wisdom about the necessity of bringing parents into the school; it is likely still important, but as part of a configural process of home–school relationship building. And it must be noted that the large sample size allowed small effects to be significant. Across multiple regression analyses, the proportion of unique variance in outcomes attributable to school-based parent involvement factors was 1–6%.

Events that bring parents and teachers together, such as academic conferences, back-to-school nights, performance assemblies, and sporting events, need to be rethought so that needs are met despite the challenge of large numbers of people being together for limited amounts of time. Minke’s work suggests that greater satisfaction and willingness to work together follows from personal connection. This finding is validated in the growing literature on emotional intelligence (see the Collaborative for Academic, Social, and Emotional Learning [CASEL] at www.casel.org). Mass-market meeting opportunities become sources of mutual frustration that leave all parties involved longing for the ending moment and not relishing a reprise.

Parent-child interactions at home. Galinsky (2001) has provided important insights into the concept of parent involvement with her review of the literature and her study of what children want from parents. Among her findings is that parents overestimate children's desire for more time with them. In fact, while only 10% of children wished to spend more time with their mothers and 15.5% more time with their fathers, more wished that their mothers (34%) and fathers (27.5%) would be less stressed and tired when they interacted with them. Across various questions and indicators, Galinsky found that children want a balance of quality and quantity of time. They don't want their parents to be rushed or distracted when they are together. She also found that family traditions and routines and the small moments they engender can often be sources of lasting fond memories and comfort to children. One might say that the link of quantity and quality of time is that quantity of time gives more opportunity for focused moments of genuine connection to take place. However, the latter appear to be of greatest value to children.

Another set of findings in Galinsky (2001) is related to what parents know about their children's day care/preschool and after-school experiences. Parents need guidance as to what constitutes adequate early care and education contexts for their children. But more to the point, communities need to provide higher quality, affordable, and accessible options. The consequences of shortcomings in early care are visited on children every day, as they do not come to school ready to learn and fall further and further behind. Older children reported that parents often did not know what they were doing after school. As will be noted in the later discussion of linkages, schools can play an important role, with parents, in keeping track of what children are doing between the end of school and the start of parental supervision. Is this overstepping boundaries? In a caring community of learners, where children are brought together in schools to develop their minds, hearts, and characters (Novick, Kress, & Elias, 2002), concern for children does not end when the bell sounds at the end of the day. Recent data on adolescent problem behaviors continue to show that difficulties are greatest between the 3 and 6 p.m., the time of

least supervision and diffused responsibility. Communities also have a role in addressing the collaborations needed to overcome these difficulties.

Partnership implications. While some partnership implications were already noted, others follow from Galinsky's work (2001). The mere attendance of exhausted parents at meetings does not a sound partnership make. This problem is compounded when exhausted educators must give up time with their own families for these meetings only to find them unproductive. Yet Galinsky's research provides a powerful pathway for the home and school agendas to come together: improving the moments of connection when parents and children are together at home. Educators can learn more about the nature of parental work and how that affects routines. This information can be part of meetings that take place early in the school year and can provide insights as to how families will be able to manage homework, study time, and participation in school events (Patrikakou, Weissberg, Hancock, Rubenstein, & Zeisz, 1997a, 1997b). Special-services personnel may be able to give parents insights about the importance of transitions in the life of the family. How do parents arrive home from work? What happens during these moments? How are children spoken to, greeted, and valued? What and how should parents be informing the school about significant changes in their households?

Galinsky's data (2001) also reveal an important insight not only for how parents come home from work but how they enter the house after other volunteer activities and even trips to the school. Her point to parents: Don't badmouth where you have just been! When parents do this, children wonder why they are being placed second behind such awful circumstances. They can come to resent work, evening school meetings, and community organizations and functions when parents come home and blast these settings. Parents need guidance as to how to share their feelings in developmentally appropriate ways. A conversation with a high-school student about the problems with the high-school parent-teacher meeting must be a quite different from a similar talk with a third grader. Yet in either case, effort must be made to be constructive, clear, and

informative, not simply emotive. Few school or parent groups provide forums in which to share ideas about such discussions.

In the home, other critical transitional moments occur around bedtimes and morning routines. These are periods of the day with tremendous implications for children's functioning in school. Parents who are guilty about not spending enough time with children often extend bedtimes, sometimes to the point at which conflict ensues, when children's interpretation of when "enough is enough" is not the same as their caregivers'. Relatedly, getting ready for school can set a positive or negative emotional tone that educators have become skilled at recognizing when children's first appear before them. How much instructional time is lost trying to get children emotionally attuned to be receptive to classroom instruction (Elias et al., 1997; Salovey & Sluyter, 1997)? How much learning time is lost when instruction proceeds before children are emotionally attuned?

Lifestyle habits and patterns. Home, school, and community can also work together to improve children's lifestyle habits and patterns (Hechinger, 1992). These include smoking, alcohol use, steroid use, drug-taking, and nutritional habits and preferences. The last area, interestingly, is the one that arises most frequently and contributes greatly to establishing health, self-discipline, and delay of gratification for the teen years. Stressed parents may not have the energy or willingness to battle what might come from trying to direct or restrict children's food consumption. This is especially true late at night and in the hectic moments of morning departure. But the result of lack of direction is much like fueling one's car with gasoline that has been adulterated with sugar placed in the station's tanks. Poor fueling, in cars and children, leads to poor performance. Parents need help in managing children's nutrition, but schools also need help in improving their lunch offerings and physical education programs.

Furthermore, the problem of increasing obesity among our children seems to be no one's specific responsibility. This makes it an ideal arena for collaboration, as it is clearly not solvable by any one socializing agent. School physical education regimens must be changed to reflect the

weighty reality they see every day. Pediatricians need to dust off their scales and look at them and the children in their offices with eyes focused more carefully and urgently on nutrition. Discussions and follow-up about familial eating patterns need to be part of both pediatric care and school nursing; there need to be vehicles for the two to be better coordinated.

These points can be extrapolated to the other areas as well. Adults often implicitly condone teen smoking and alcohol use, not least through selling substances to them inappropriately. But this often happens because the members of the community of caregivers inside and outside the school are not in sufficiently close partnership to ensure adolescent health and positive lifestyles. Medical professionals can play an important gatekeeping role as allies to parents. Dentists and doctors need to be alert to signs of use of cigarettes, other tobacco products, steroids, and drugs. Screenings can and should be considered part of routine health assessments, especially in adolescence and obviously in the early teen years as a preventive measure.

Schools and Parents Have a Common Adversary

From an ecological point of view, schools and parents actually have an adversary, or at least a competitor, when it comes to influencing the identity of students: time. Sadly, they do not spend sufficient time working together in recognition of the behemoth that threatens them and our children. Comer (1997) alerted us to the problem, when he pointed out that this is the first time in human history when children spend more than 50% of their time with no adults around them. They spend less time interacting with their parents and not as much time as one might think in direct interaction with teachers. Instead, they spend time being influenced by the culture of the mass media, by their friends, and by advertising on billboards, on the sides of buses, in magazines, and on website and e-mail pop-up windows. Matters are not helped by the general speeding up of the culture and of life, which affords children and adults less time and patience. This manifests itself in less follow-through, in shorter time spans for complex tasks, in a

reluctance to explore an issue in great depth, and, eventually, in less ambitious goal setting and problem solving.

Meanwhile, the media messages to our children are coming in simple and stark form: “Buy this, you need a new one of that, don’t wait, do it now. Have something to eat, and have it often and whenever the mood strikes you. How can you resist that beer? Do it to the X-treme. Think of yourself, think of the moment. You want this, don’t you?” How well do the positive socialization messages of educators and parents compete? Are essential messages about positive values reaching all the children that need to hear and see them? It does not take excessive perceptiveness to see that home and school are not competing well and that negative socialization messages have their impact on educators and parents, winning them over to the dark side almost subliminally (Postman, 1995).

Both school and home need to work together to foster the development of a healthy adolescent identity. Both sides recognize that neither has the capacity or the knowledge to carry out such a task independently. The next question to be raised, however, is the nature of the task. Erik Erikson provides an important developmental perspective. Another is provided by theorists who are focused on the developmental needs, or assets, that adolescents need in order to thrive.

Developmental and Ecological Issues in Adolescent Identity Formation

Erik Erikson, a pioneer in focusing on identity as the main developmental task faced by adolescents, cautioned that adolescence is a process, not an end product or even a stop along the highway of life. Children pass through at high speed, all the while searching for the answers to the questions of identity posed earlier. At no time is this search more intense, urgent, and encompassing than during adolescence. Social-ecological theory makes clear that there are about as many pathways to accomplishing this goal as there are families and other microsystems.

Yet these pathways are part of one large roadmap. The route to a positive, constructive identity passes through certain checkpoints. It is accompanied by a host of physiological,

cognitive, and life-circumstance changes that make adolescence such a challenging period. This is not the place to elaborate these in detail. However, the following aspects are worth noting, because they serve as anchors for understanding the needs of adolescents and the common ground from which home-school partnerships can emerge.

First, cognitive changes lead adolescents to begin thinking more abstractly, more about what might be and could be, rather than about what is. Thinking about and envisioning the future become less abstract for them. They feel more and more comfortable speculating and wondering. As they wonder, their emotions are more closely connected than ever to their wonderings. When young children say they want to be basketball players, they are not thinking deeply about what that means and especially not about the likelihood of failure. Their ideas do not represent deeply held beliefs. For teenagers, the interplay of future thinking and strong emotions about the future is powerful. What they might or might not be starts to matter a great deal, so much so that many teenagers go to great lengths to avoid thinking about it and having to cope with strong emotions that are evoked.

Second, a result of these changes in adolescents is more extremes of emotion and thinking, part of a process of zigging and zagging. Hypersensitivity of emotions, especially in response to criticism is common (“I can’t believe she said that to me! That #!@\$&!”). So is catastrophizing, thinking that only the worst possible outcome of any situation can be anticipated (“I will never pass that test, not in one million years, no matter how much I study.” “Do you think it would help you opened your book?” “No, because even if I got a great grade, he would still not give me anything more than a B because he hates me so much!”). Also common is exaggeration (“That was the most amazing concert I have ever, ever seen in my whole life!”).

Finally, the opinions of adolescents’ peers start to matter a great deal. But that common wisdom is tempered by data suggesting that parental influence does not disappear. On the contrary, parent involvement continues to be critical for long-term planning and life decisions (Patrikakou, 1997). This is true despite the hypersensitivity and exaggeration applied to much of

what parents say and do, especially to the negative things, but certainly also to the positive. Parents continue to be the steering wheel for teens' journey throughout the ecological landscape of adolescence. Youth may well run off the road, their wheels may become misaligned, or they may suffer other mechanical problems. They need parents or other significant, stable adult caregivers to keep their eyes on the road and remind them never to let go of the wheel. Just because teens don't seem to be listening, or because they quote their pals Shirley or Tommy as if they were quoting scripture, they will not necessarily ignore the values parents emphasize in their everyday actions. But, as noted earlier, it is harder and harder for parents' messages to come through all the competition unless they are clear and consistent. And sadly, when parents' messages are harmful, their presence in the microsystem gives them disproportionate negative influence.

**What Teens Need on the Road Through Adolescence:
Appreciation, Belonging, Competencies and Confidence, and Contributions**

If adolescence is viewed as a journey or passage between childhood and adulthood, then all along the journey, teens are considering their experiences against a backdrop of key questions related to their emerging sense of identity: "Who am I?" and "What can I become?" The road is quite congested, the routes are not clearly marked, and there are dead ends and detours galore. To the extent that home and school are working together to guide teenagers on this journey, they are more likely to be successful in navigating the complex ecological terrain they face.

In the absence of the dual controls that driving instructors have, parents and educators need a common roadmap with a set of main routes to take and rest stops to use when teens' journeys seem overwhelming. The main routes on which caregivers travel along the path to providing teens with constructive guidance toward positive identity can be called appreciation, belonging, competencies and confidence, and contributions.

Appreciation

Parents and educators need to be aware of teenagers' cherished talents. Often these are seen in their hobbies, although sometimes they are hard to see because they develop in the privacy of their rooms or only with trusted friends. Interestingly, either the home or school tends to know about these talents and is surprised to hear about them from the other. Teens might be gifted in math, science, languages, writing, computers, creating media, art, music, getting along with other people, sports, dance, outdoor activities, or sailing—the possibilities are endless. Howard Gardner's concept (1993) of multiple intelligences refers to the range of talents that children have; their future identities are strengthened when they have positive opportunities to express and develop their abilities. Giving teens a chance to discover and develop talents sometimes leads to dead ends, but these efforts can make a life-changing difference.

Talents become centerpieces for helping teenagers feel appreciated. Certainly, this is an outcome of adults' showing them love and sharing laughter. The sense of appreciation, of celebration, is an essential part of teens' lives that they need in order to venture into the world and test identities with confidence. Homes characterized by frequent expressions of appreciation to teens are places where strong family ties are found (Greeff & Le Roux, 1999). Importantly, parents and educators need also to show appreciation both for significant accomplishments and for smaller efforts on the part of teens, including doing what they are supposed to do (Fuligni, 2002). Like the adults who work with and care about them, teens are not immune to the power of routine recognition. As a result, adolescents develop their talents best when they can depend on parents for support and as a foundation as they test new skills (Chszenmihalyi, Rathunde, & Whalen, 1993).

Belonging

Teens need groups to belong to (Blai, 1989). Cottrell (1976) was among the first to show clearly that this serves as their motivation to join gangs. Teens are looking for places where they

have a role or a purpose, can find positive peer relationships, be with others who have similar interests or abilities, learn things, have inspiring leadership, and feel safe, comfortable, and accepted. This is what Sarason (1977) and others refer to as a “sense of community,” as one of the transcendent needs of human beings. It is what in the past was associated with positive, proximal extended families and close, caring neighborhoods (Dalton, Wandersman, & Elias, 2001). These needs do not have to be met by families and neighborhoods alone. There are other microsystems and organizations that can serve well, such as clubs, teams, youth groups, and community organizations. Through building bridges, creating linkages, and providing positive guidance, parents and educators can help teens acquire that sense of belonging that tells them, in part, who they are and perhaps who they want to become.

Competencies and Confidence

The common notion that adolescence is about independence and autonomy is at best simplistic and anachronistic. Teens live in a complex and interdependent world. In any practical sense, there is no true independence and autonomy (Elias, Tobias, & Friedlander, 2002). Social-ecological theory makes that abundantly clear, and this insight paves the way for greater common action by parents and educators on behalf of teens.

Given that teens must be prepared to live lives of synergy and interdependence, they will need competencies to allow them to deal with a range of possible opportunities. These include the skills of social-emotional learning and emotional intelligence—a balance of the cognitive, affective, and behavioral skills needed to manage effectively and sensitively in the world (Ciarrochi, Forgas, & Mayer, 2001; Elias et al., 1997; Elias, Tobias, & Friedlander, 2002). Parents and educators need to look for opportunities to build the following skills in teenagers:

- how to recognize and label their feelings and those of others;
- how to manage their own strong feelings so that they can carry out essential responsibilities;

- how to set goals and plan, both in the long and short term;
- how to work in groups as team players and as leaders;
- how to build positive relationships with many different kinds of people;
- how to be thoughtful problem solvers and decision makers; and
- how to bounce back from the roadblocks that they face.

Teenagers develop these competencies from a combination of formal instruction; supportive services in schools; modeling of parents and educators; constructive interactional contexts with peers and adults in formal and informal groups; community-service opportunities; spiritual contexts; intensive, positively guided youth group experiences; inspiring, memorable, and enjoyable interaction with extended family; and other ecological influences. As competencies develop, confidence follows. And confidence allows teenagers to try new areas of possible identity, to take positive risks, and to expand their competencies. When these efforts are surrounded by a stable set of supportive relationships, setbacks are not devastating. Catastrophizing can be limited when teens' strengths are continually held up for them to see.

Contribution

For teens, contribution is perhaps the most crucial route on their way to identity. It is the counterpoise to the self-oriented, hectic, consumption-focused values of the larger society mentioned earlier. Feeling a sense of contribution, selflessness, and generosity is essential for healthy identity development in teenagers (Brendtro, Brokenleg, & Van Bockern, 1990; Kessler, 2000; Whyte, 2000). Teens' tendency toward being self-centered is best framed by understanding that the teen years are very much about self-discovery. Teens thrive on helping—on making contributions to causes, saving the environment, aiding senior citizens, teaching what they know to younger children, being mentors to needier youngsters, working in soup kitchens, working in political campaigns, raising funds for people who are suffering, and helping their religious institutions reach their charitable goals. Making contributions and feeling like a contributing

member of groups which one belongs to and cares about are key parts of becoming a well-balanced, caring person (Muscott, 2000). Further, teenagers are motivated to develop their competencies in the service of making contributions.

Because contributions are so important to adolescents as an arena for home and school partnerships, several areas are explicated below that are in the interest of both parents and educators to promote:

Contributions to the household. Teens may not seem to have enough time for their schoolwork, special projects, and sleep, but parents do them no favors when they shield them from household responsibilities. Everyone has to contribute to these tasks, and teenagers are not exceptions. Contributions—which can be a positive way of reframing the notion of chores—help teens feel good about what they are doing and about themselves. Contributions are a way of giving and of showing love. Without opportunities to make contributions to the family, teens are being denied chances to grow both in generosity and in learning responsibility (Fuligni, 2002).

Contributions to one's school and community. Marian Wright Edelman, the child advocate and educator, has said, "Service is the rent each of us pays for living." There is much to contemplate in these wise words. How does the idea of service get put into action for teens? In *Promoting Social and Emotional Learning: Guidelines for Educators* (Elias et al., 1997), members of CASEL reported on a visit to LaSalle High School in Providence, Rhode Island. At LaSalle, any student who wanted to be a member of a sports team, varsity or intramural, had to develop and sign a contract stating three goals in each of three areas: How will you improve yourself in your sport? How will you improve your team? How will you improve your school or community?

Researchers at CASEL have found that the schools can play an important role in fostering a sense of contribution through service (e.g., Muscott, 2000). Preparing children for roles in a civic society, educating them about the supports that undergird our more visible social institutions, and providing them with the skills needed for socially responsible participation in

community life are the engines of our democracy and are great and important gifts. There is a growing literature on the benefits that accrue to children from well-designed service-learning experiences and from an orientation toward being contributing members of their classrooms, schools, families, and communities (McLaughlin, 2000). A further likely benefit from service-learning efforts is better preparation of teenagers for the nature of workplace life: for the give and take involved, for the social-emotional learning skills needed, for the importance of being team players and leaders, and for other aspects of timing and pacing that are often overlooked when careers are considered (Cherniss & Golman, 2001; Pasi, 2001).

But families also have a role to play, because of the power of parental modeling. Many families do take seriously their responsibilities for charitable giving. But too often, parents write and mail checks with little or no comment, and in other ways shield their teenagers from the details of their philanthropic and service lives. Adults need to take advantage of opportunities to help teens (as well as younger children) develop a sense of contribution.

A 1997 report by the Council of Chief State School Officers, on behalf of themselves and the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, the Character Education Partnership, the Close Up Foundation, Earth Force, and the National Society for Experiential Education, puts into clear perspective the reason why contributions are essential for adolescents:

If we are honest, the deepest reason we educate our children is not just to equip them with the knowledge and skills they will need to achieve economic success and personal satisfactions. We do it to get them in touch with their own humanity. We want them to see themselves in others' eyes, and to feel others as a part of themselves. We want them to stand for something, and to be able to act on the basis of the kind of person they understand themselves to be. We want them to understand that the ills of the world belong to the whole community, that the problems that may be someone else's fault are not always someone else's job. We want them to understand that we all belong to one another. (Gomez, 1997, p. 15)

The spirituality connection. The linkage between adolescent identity and spirituality is increasingly recognized as important to address (Kessler, 2000). A fundamental premise of spirituality is that each person is important to the world. By extension, teens' specialness means that they have contributions to make, and spirituality is part of their ability to make deep connections to whatever they come to believe gives life meaning.

Of course, adolescents do not often recognize what they are experiencing as an awakening of their spirituality. Rather, they are more in touch with beginning to struggle to find meaning and purpose in life. Their cognitive abilities allow them to ask questions about the future, and their moral reasoning moves them toward perceiving that there are overriding values as well as many more gray areas than they saw in their preteen years. Adolescents are entering a search that will continue throughout their lives, as they author their identities through their deeds.

Adolescence is a time for important questions to emerge, beyond what time the mall opens and whether the keys to the car are available. Parker Palmer (1998/1999) and Rachael Kessler (1998/1999), sharing their insights in a special issue of *Educational Leadership* devoted to spirituality, state that they have spent a great deal of time with adolescents and that these are among the most frequent questions they have heard:

- How does my life have meaning and purpose?
- What gifts do I have that the world wants and needs?
- To what or whom do I feel most deeply connected?
- How can I rise above my fears and doubts?
- How do I deal with the suffering of my family, my friends, others in the world, myself?
- What or who is it that awakens or touches the spirit within me?

Each of these “big questions”—about purpose, gifts, connection, fears, suffering, and personal spirit—takes on added meaning when a religious context is added to secular considerations. But a spiritual connection is important with or without any teen involvement in religion.

Parents ultimately will be more important than secular schools in guiding adolescents in the spiritual area. Yet, there is no reason for schools to ignore educating children about comparative religions and thus promote greater understanding and tolerance. And there appears to be a rise in teens' turning to faith-based youth group experiences even as they turn away from formal religious participation and rituals (Kessler, 2000). Parents and youth group leaders provide the powerful tool of modeling through making contributions and putting their lives into spiritual perspective. Adolescents have a hard time putting into words their beliefs about "transcendent" ideas, especially to parents. Often it is easier for them to begin by discussing fictional stories of others' experiences. Such discussions are often carried out effectively in youth groups.

Common Home–School Tools for Adolescent Identity Building

Parents and educators can call upon a common set of tools to use in their work of socializing teens to be knowledgeable, responsible, nonviolent, drug-free, and caring, and to possess the skills and attitudes needed for constructively engaging their roles in schools, families, workplaces, and communities. These tools are love and caring, laughter, limits, and linkages (Elias et al., 2002).

Love and Caring

Parents and educators need to convey their love and caring in ways that are clear to teenagers. Teaching and parenting that occur outside of the context of caring relationships will be a source of stress and frustration. Little effective, lasting, positive learning will result. Indeed, advances in emotional-intelligence theory make it clear that in the absence of caring relationships, learning is not effective. Teenagers are motivated by relationships with coaches, teachers, employers, and mentors as much as they are by intrinsic interest in the subject area being conveyed. Caring in the context of relationships is the fuel that drives learning (Wood, 1999). When teens feel the school does not care about them, learning is curtailed and problem behaviors are far more likely.

That said, families are often the source of teens' most intense caring relationships. The caring of parents, and, hopefully, grandparents, is special when it is accompanied by love. Uri Bronfenbrenner (1979) refers to an "irrational" feeling of support, no matter what a child does specifically, as essential for positive growth. It feels odd to have to make a case for the importance of love, but actually it is necessary in parenting now for parents to reflect very carefully on how they show their love and how they can be sure that their message is getting through.

Key questions for parents and educators to ask are these:

- In what ways are affection and caring shown to teens?
- What happens when teenagers do something special?
- What about participating in an event or competition and doing well, though not winning?
- How are smaller acts of kindness celebrated and recognized within families and schools?
- How about milestone events, special birthdays, and holiday gatherings?

How teens feel about themselves is influenced to a large degree by how they perceive parents and educators feel about them (Rosenthal, Peng, & McMillan, 1980). If key adults are perceived as critical and rejecting, children are primed, though not condemned, to grow up thinking they are not good enough and that as a result people will not love them (Dubois, Eitel, & Felner, 1994). Their thinking makes perfect sense. If primary socializers and guides are treating an adolescent negatively, he or she can reach one of two conclusions: these adults are unreasonable, unfair, and awful, or they are correct. Teens need not be put in such a position.

Teens who have loving and trusting relationships with parents and educators feel secure. From that feeling of security comes a greater sense of venturesomeness. Venturesomeness expresses teens' feelings that they are able to go forth and explore, make their marks in the world, find their own paths, but still be connected. Why are they connected? Because love and caring

are like a lifeline; they strengthen teens' accomplishments and give greater meaning to what they are doing.

Through caring and loving relationships with adults in their lives, teens are more likely to internalize values about how to participate in caring and loving relationships. A teen's relationships with parents and educators help establish a sense of identity as a worthwhile human being, give values by which to live, and demonstrate how to be with others and form positive attachments.

Laughter

Laughter is parents' and educators' indispensable tool for coping with all the challenges that teenagers throw at them. As teenagers try to find themselves, laughter is an alternative to tears or more extreme expressions of adult frustration. Vintage garments from the Salvation Army reject pile, jeans worn 4 inches below the waist, purple or orange hair, black nails and clothes, hairstyles that one is unlikely to find in *Vogue* or *GQ*, unauthorized piercing and body art, all these and more will confront adult caregivers with despair unless they keep their sense of humor. To the extent to which educators and parents are able to derive pride and joy from things that teens do, they are better able to position themselves for socially and emotionally healthy relationships with teens.

Limits

A great deal has been written about discipline and limit setting. However, from a social-ecological and developmental perspective, limits are not about restriction as much as they are about focus, direction, and boundary setting. The skills that parents, educators, and teens possess in setting goals and solving problems help teens turn good ideas into constructive actions. Home and school have shared goals in ensuring that teens have the skills needed for sound, well-planned problem solving and decision making (Elias & Tobias, 1996).

Linkages

Teenagers need to be contributors more than consumers, and to belong more than to buy. In a world of increasing complexity and sophistication, parents cannot expect to do all and be all for their teens. Adults' ability to help teens make healthy connections with others will be at least as important as what adults do for and with them directly. Linkages are an important way that parents and educators help teens make the kinds of connections that allow them to develop their talents, make contributions, have a sense of belonging, and build life skills. While what happens in the family context is important, more and more this will not be sufficient for children's growth. Schools are essential partners. Berreth and Berman (1997) indicate that teenagers have social responsibility and must be prepared to be engaged with the world around them. Love, laughter, limits, and the linkages that provide them with opportunities combine to fuel teens with the appreciation, belonging, competencies, and confidence that will enable them to make contributions to their families, schools, neighborhoods, and society.

Responsibility is the ability of teens to recognize and respond to the needs of others in their families and schools and the larger world. It is an antidote to selfishness, to the "me first" or "me always" or "me only" attitude that some attribute to many members of the teen generation. When parents and schools take a visible and sustained role in creating linkages with a world of opportunities outside the narrow sphere of teen interest as defined by the mass culture, the vast majority of adolescents respond positively and enthusiastically (Amerikaner, Monks, Wolf, & Thomas, 1994; Margolin, 2001). As noted earlier, teens want to make contributions. Parents and educators can provide the linkages needed to make social responsibilities a part of teens' ongoing routines.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Home-school partnerships need to focus on the common goal of building positive adolescent identity. This can be accomplished by attending to the ways in which teens are shown

appreciation, helped to find belonging and a sense of community in school, family, and other constructive settings, given explicit opportunities to learn social-emotional competencies and to develop confidence through enacting those competencies successfully, and encouraged to make contributions to the life of home, school, and community. These common tasks must be accomplished with a balance of love and caring, laughter, limit setting, and provision of linkages so that lack of immediate resources is never an excuse for curtailing teen accomplishment.

From these basic premises, new forms of home–school partnership will emerge that are likely to be energized and effective. They will represent long-lasting, second-order change in that the roles and relationships between parents and educators will change, as will those between them and teens. Interdependence will be recognized as necessary, not optional. Developmental stressors—such as becoming an older sibling; not learning to read effectively or do math competently; coping with family moves, divorce, death in the family, or parental job change; dealing with a classmate’s drug use, violent behavior, attempted or actual suicide, pregnancy, or AIDS—will become a key part of the common curriculum because of a recognition that learning cannot occur effectively in the face of such trauma. It is not the responsibility of home or school alone to address or solve these problems. It is the genuine arena of home–school partnership.

How Educators Can Engage Parents for Genuine Partnerships

- Change middle- and high-school handbooks so that they emphasize the identity-building opportunities awaiting students when they enter, feature interviews and stories with graduates, and place less emphasis on disciplinary infractions while presenting school rules that contribute to the positive identity of the school.
- Develop positive feedback systems to show appreciation of social-emotional intelligence, small amounts of progress, and academic success. Make progress reports about progress of all kinds, and not only for those facing difficulties. Change report cards to include indicators of life skills that parents will understand and appreciate.

- Provide parents with multimedia-formatted guidance with regard to how they should support at home the work of the school.
- Facilitate a dialogue about cultural and ethnic differences. Create networks of parent liaisons comprised of educators, parents, and community residents who can help new families of different ethnic groups adapt to the neighborhood.
- Arrange opportunities for community service and more meaningful, widely participatory student government. Publicize what happens in these contexts so that parents can see the school's service-learning accomplishments and also gain a better understanding of the interests and competencies of their teenagers.
- Provide forums for parent discussion and mutual support to address the developmental issues, familial stressors, and parent-child communication concerns that can be expected during the adolescent years.

How Parents Can Engage Educators for Genuine Partnerships

In a similar way, parents can signal, and be helped to signal, a willingness to change the way they relate to the schools, in the interest of their teens' positive identity development:

- Indicate an interest in changing the format of back to school night and parent-teacher conferences into events with more meaningful opportunities to build relationships and a genuine understanding of how the school functions.
- Change the focus of parent-teacher or home-school association meetings to provide more forums for parent support to address issues of adolescent identity development and meeting teens' needs as noted above.
- Ask the guidance department to work with parents more proactively in handling college and career issues, to help teens better appreciate the linkage of academic and extracurricular opportunities in the present to their future options and dreams.

- Work to develop feasible systems of communication that do not overload educators yet also allow for responsiveness to parental concerns on a nonemergency basis.

With coordinated and consistent adult support, the strong emotions and many challenges of adolescence will neither hold teenagers back nor misdirect them. Teen aspirations and identities can then be more likely to soar into adult accomplishments.

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